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THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

His Last Chance

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1913)

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Notes of the Week

Women in Industry in Indiana

THE result of an investigation of the Women in Industry Service of the Department of Labor, gives most startling facts concerning the length of the working day for women in Indiana. In several industries in the state women work as long as 88 hours a week. "It is possible," to quote the investigators, "for a woman in Indiana to work in a factory from 6 a. m. until 10 p. m., with one hour for lunch, making a 15 hour working day or to work all night in occupations other than manufacturing and yet keep within the law."

The Indiana investigation covered 112 plants. In 61 of these the women employees had to stand continuously at their work during the day of ten hours or more.

Indiana is, moreover, not the only state with inadequate laws to protect working women and children. There are five states which have no laws at all regulating the hours of women's work. These are Alabama, Florida, Iowa, West Virginia, and New Mexico.

There are still Senators who maintain that each individual state has made such provisions for the protection of its women that it is unnecessary for the United States Senate to put a ballot in the hands of women.

Women in Hawaii Wish to Vote

THE women in the territory of Hawaii are showing much interest in suffrage. They have recently been holding meetings in Honolulu. The governor of the islands and the legislature are both being urged to enact suffrage legislation. Among the organizations which have passed resolutions favoring the measure are the Social Workers Association of Honolulu, and the College Women's Club.

Suffrage in Indiana

THE first bill signed by the Governor of Indiana was a memorial to the United States Senate asking the passage of the suffrage amendment; the second bill which he signed was the presidential suffrage bill. A resolution has been introduced into the Indiana legislature to amend the constitution so as to give full suffrage to the women of the state. This bill was passed without a dissenting vote in the lower house.

Presidential Suffrage

OTHER states which have taken action on Presidential suffrage at the present sessions of their legislatures are Vermont, Wisconsin, and Missouri. In Vermont, after the bill was passed by both houses of the legislature, it was vetoed by the governor on the ground that it was contrary to the state constitution, which specifically provided that the constitution could not be altered except by amendment.

The Wisconsin bill passed first the lower house of the legislature and then the senate by a vote of 27 to 4. It now needs only the signature of the governor.

The lower house of the Missouri legislature passed a Presidential suffrage bill by a vote of 122 to 8.

These bills in the states show how much the sentiment for suffrage has increased in many different parts of the country. If the legislatures which are passing such bills had the opportunity to ratify the federal amendment they would undoubtedly do so. Fear of action by them is clearly an important factor in the delay of suffrage by the Senate opponents. Bourbon members of the United States Senate do not want to allow their states to decide.

Interallied Suffrage Conference

THE Interallied Suffrage Conference meeting in Paris on February 14 declared that peace should be a peoples peace, which it cannot be unless women are consulted. It declared for a League of Nations which should not be an alliance of governments, but of people including women and workers. The conference received assurances from representatives of the British and American peace commissions that their recommendations should receive support from the Peace Conference. Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee was the American representative at the conference.

The resolution made further demands that all offices and employment shall be open to women and that they receive equal pay for equal work.

Something may be done by the British Commissioners, but it is hardly to be expected that the representatives of our autocratic government will do for the women of the world what they have failed to do for American women.

Bavarian Women's Program

AT the meetings of the provisional national council of Bavaria, Frau Dr. Kempf stood out as the most notable figure. Now that women can vote in Bavaria they are following a program which includes participation by women in all branches of government; participation especially in social work, trades inspection, living condition policies and social hygiene.

Frau Kempf said that women ask further the equality of women with men teachers, educational possibilities for girls in all existing schools, expert training for women workers, the influence of mothers in the schools, the admission of women as judges, lawyers and jury members, assurance of the right of women to influence the upbringing of the family and economic independence of wives.

British Women May Not Fly

THE Air Council of Great Britain has announced that the women in the Royal Air Force may not learn to fly. The reason given is that there is a lack of facilities for teaching them owing to demobilization. The general impression seems to be that the women as well as the men will later be permitted to learn to fly.

More German Voters

A PARIS cable announces that the Luxemburg chamber of deputies has adopted tentatively a bill granting women the right to vote and to be elected to office. One Teutonic country succeeds another in achieving woman suffrage before the United States.

British Munition Workers

THE Common Cause for February 7 gives as a typical instance the following case of after war treatment of women workers:

"There seems to be an impression abroad in some quarters that the demobilized munition workers, now unemployed, are for the most part comparatively wealthy people, who earned enormous wages which they spent chiefly on fur coats and pianos, and which they can now very easily do without. If any of our readers hold this opinion we would ask them to consider the following case, quoted to us by Miss Mary Macarthur as typical of numbers of others which have come to her knowledge. We omit the names of peoples and places, which are, however, in our possession. Mrs. H. is a demobilized munition worker, registered at a Labour Exchange of a northern town. She has worked not from choice, but from necessity, for she has been a widow for six years, and has three children, one suffering from a tubercular spine. On being demobilized, she was offered work at a restaurant at a wage fifteen shillings a week and meals. The hours were from 7 a. m. to 7:30 p. m. Had she accepted this job, she would have had to pay an old woman three shillings a week to look after her children during the hours she was away from them and would also have had to spend a shilling a week on tram fares. Only eleven shillings would have been left, and out of that she would have had to pay her rent and feed the three children (one of whom needed special care) and buy clothes and other necessaries for herself and for them. This was plainly impossible, so she refused the place. She would get no unemployment benefit, because she had "refused suitable work." After some weeks of semi-starvation she applied to the Poor Law Guardians for help. They asked her whether she wanted poor relief, twenty-five shillings a week for doing nothing, or work. She said work. The sincerity of this reply was proved by the fact that when they offered her employment as a temporary cleaner at a workhouse infirmary six miles from her home, from 7:45 a. m. to 4:30 p. m. daily, at a wage of twenty-eight shillings a week without food, she at once accepted it."

Charleston Welcomes the Prison Special

THE biggest mass meeting ever held in Charleston for any purpose greeted the women of the Prison Special on Sunday, February 16, in the Academy of Music. The thousand people turned away for lack of space formed two great overflow meetings in the open air. The packed throng in the Academy repeatedly applauded the speakers' references to picketing and to watchfire protests against the delay of the national suffrage amendment. The meeting passed without a dissenting voice, a resolution which charged the Democratic Party with responsibility for this delay and called upon the President and the Democratic Party leaders to pass it, and upon Senator Smith, of South Carolina, to reverse his stand and vote for the amendment.

Headlines in Charleston papers, "Prison Special Captures City," and "Charleston Turns out en masse to greet Prison Special," tell the story of the spontaneous response of this stronghold of Southern sentiment to the appeal of American women for political equality.

The Academy of Music is the largest theater in the city. According to the papers the streets around it were so packed with people eager to hear these women who had been jailed for suffrage activities in Washington that long before the meeting began the military police had hard work to keep space clear for the street cars.

In the absence of Mrs W. P. Vaughan, Chairman of the South Carolina branch of the Woman's Party, who was kept away by illness in her family, Miss Susan P. Frost, the Charleston chairman, presided.

Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., of New York, the first speaker, read the Susan B. Anthony amendment, gave a brief history of women's sixty-year fight for its passage, and declared that they would fight up to the last minute for its passage by the present Congress.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker stated that the purpose of the burning of the President's words on liberty and democracy, like the purpose of picketing, was

1. To secure action in Congress on the suffrage amendment where action has ceased.
2. To center the attention of the country on the situation of the amendment.
3. To show plainly that President Wilson and the Democratic Party are responsible for the failure to pass it.

She showed, by giving a history of the gains made by the amendment during the past year, how effective these demonstrations at Washington, combined with simultaneous political action in many states, had been. She closed by saying that the Democratic Party could and should pass the suffrage amendment before the end of the present Congress on March 4.

The Charleston News and Courier says in its report of the meeting:

"Miss Sue White, of Nashville, placed the blame for the amendment not passing. She is a Southern Democrat who is proud of her affiliation and of her section. She wears a badge, the Stars and Bars surrounded by a wreath denoting that she belongs to that organization that has done so much to preserve the traditions and accomplishments of the Confederacy. It is no pleasure for her to place the blame on the Democrats, but the record is the record. Of the vote cast for the amendment less than 60 per cent was by the Democrats, the party in power, while the Republicans have cast more than 74 per cent of their strength. The Democrats have blocked the legislation. President Wilson stands as the leader of his party and is to that extent responsible for its failure.

"At this juncture Miss Vida Milholland sang an Irish air which captivated her audience. She was given a demonstration and encored."

MRS. H. O. Havemeyer, of New York, said "American women cannot be enfranchised except by an amendment to the United States Constitution. The state by state method of enfranchisement is too hard, too expensive and too long. Every Anglo-Saxon Government in the world except that of the United States has now enfranchised its women. Women are voting on the same terms as men in Australia, Hungary and Germany. It is a disgrace that every American ought to resent that the Senate of the United States by defeating the suffrage amendment February 10, put this country in the rear of nearly every other civilized country in its march toward liberty and self-government.

Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, of Florida
Member of the Prison Special

THE Charleston American reports Miss Burns' speech as follows:

"It was not woman suffrage alone that lost on Feb. 10, when the amendment was defeated by one vote. The Democratic Party lost an opportunity. By their failure to make this issue their own—an issue worth tens of thousands of votes now that more than ten millions of women in the United States have the franchise—they handed it over to the Republican Party to use when and how it pleased for its own advantage. The amendment is to be immediately reintroduced. Everyone interested either in suffrage or in the fate of the Democratic Party should press for the passage of the amendment before March 3.

"President Wilson realizes the importance of this issue. Unfortunately, however, he thinks that shadow will take the place of substance, that a reputation for being for the amendment will be as satisfactory to women as effective support.

"He has never shown greater ability in winning the ardent support of reformers, and at the same time playing politics with their legislature and defeating its accomplishment than in his dealings with the federal amendment. He voted for suffrage in New Jersey in the referendum campaigin after the campaign was known to be lost. The vote did not help suffrage, but it was worth many votes to President Wilson in the presidential campaign.

"He spoke for federal suffrage in the Senate just before the defeat of the amendment on October 1, but he did not change a single vote and later he went into the state campaigns and worked for anti-suffragists against suffragists.

"When it was announced on February 10, that the suffrage amendment had lost by one vote Senator E. D. Smith registered his delight by a few dancing steps and applause. It was not the defeat of the suffrage amendment that he was celebrating, but the possible downfall of his party at the polls in 1920. It was due to the Western and Southern states voting together that the Democrats were returned to power in 1916. As long as this alliance continues Democrats will continue to be sent to Washington—no matter how the heathen rages—meaning the Republicans.

"Senator Pollock has shown himself of far wider vision. He believes in woman suffrage. But he also sincerely believes this country does better under Democratic than Republican leadership. He admits this as one of his motives for voting for the amendment.

"Senator Pollock knows that the federal suffrage amendment will not complicate the race problem. There are south of the Mason and Dixon line six million more white women than negro women and two million more white men

than negro men and women combined. After the passage of the suffrage amendment the states will have the same right to impose upon voters any qualifications whatever, just ts they have now with the exception that when women have measured up to the standards the state has set for men, women shall not be excluded from voting simply because they are women."

THE spirit of the vast gathering was expressed in the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted and copies of which were ordered sent to the President, Senator Pollock, Senator Smith, and the Democratic leaders in the Senate:

RESOLUTIONS

"Whereas, the Democratic Party is responsible for the delay in passing the suffrage amendment; Be it

Resolved, that this meeting urge upon the President and the Democratic leaders in the Senate to remove this stain upon the party by the immediate reintroduction and final passage of the federal suffrage amendment to enfranchise all American women.

Also, whereas, the vote of the South Carolina Senator in favor of the amendment on February 10 leaves but one vote lacking for its passage; Be it

Resolved, that this meeting congratulate Senator Pollock on his action, and urge him to use his power for the re-introduction of the amendment, and its immediate passage before March 4.

Also, whereas, Senator Smith, of South Carolina, voted against the amendment:

Resolved, that this meeting condemn the action of Senator Smith, and demand that he reverse his vote and so act in accordance with the expressed will of the American people.

Resolved, that these resolutions be sent to the President, Senator Pollock, Senator Smith, and the Democratic leader in the Senate."

Miss Burns, Miss Pollitzer, Mrs. Rogers, Miss White, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, and Miss Greiner went early Monday morning to Columbia, where the state legislature is in session. They held two large street meetings in Columbia, both of which received their message with great enthusiasm.

Two large street meetings were also held in Charleston during the day. Over three hundred copies of "The Suffragist" were sold. One purchaser insisted on giving $2.63, all the change in his pockets, for a copy.

Mrs. Havemeyer addressed the men at the Naval Academy, and Miss Milholland sang. The attitude of the meeting after Mrs. Havemeyer had addressed them was expressed by a young man from Wisconsin who earnestly assured the ladies that he "had never heard or realized the truth about suffrage for women before." One of the party on the Prison Special writes: "Our welcome in Charleston has been stupendous, far beyond our most optimistic dreams. We were met on the station platform by cordial Charleston sympathizers and hurried into waiting automobiles. Again at luncheon at the New Charleston Hotel, we were given a rousing welcome to the city. We left Charleston inspired with the greatness of our message, and a deeper realization of the purpose of the 'Prison Special.'"

Miss Susan Frost, of the Charleston branch of the National Woman's Party, presided over the meeting which followed the luncheon. The speakers were Miss Mary Winsor, Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Mrs. Robert Walker, Miss Ingham, and Miss Lucy Burns. Miss Winsor told her audience that "the question of suffrage is one which affects the pride and dignity of our beloved country; it is a question of freedom not only for American women, but of freedom for the world." Mrs. Robert Walker gave a short history of the achievements of the National Woman's Party since its organization in 1913. She showed that in just one year from the date of the first picketing of the White House, the House of Representatives passed the amendment, five-sixths of the Republicans voting for it, and one-half of the Democrats against it; and that the President urged in a personal message to Congress the immediate passage of the amendment, though he did not use his great power as a leader to make the suffrage amendment a party measure. Mrs. Walker gave the aim of the visit in these words: "We are here to urge each person to help to educate the members of the Democratic Party to see their opportunity."

Miss Ingham told clearly just why she burned the words of the President on democracy. "We burned the words as a sign that words without deeds mean nothing," she said, "we believe that the passage of the suffrage measure through the House of Representatives was final and conclusive evidence of feeling in this country on the Susan B. Anthony amendment."

Miss Burns showed that the failure of the amendment to pass the Senate had placed the President in a position of very questionable consistency abroad in that he was using his power to establish a world democracy when he was responsible for the failure to realize complete democracy in the United States. She declared it to be the duty of every patriotic woman in the United States to do all possible to put our country where it ought to be among the great English-speaking democracies of the world.

The meeting passed the same resolutions which were later passed by the mass meeting.

Englishwoman Appeals to President to Act on Suffrage

PRESIDENT Wilson will return to the United States bearing the petition of women of the European countries to which he went to take democratic ideals, asking that he obtain democracy for American women.

Lady Constance Lytton, sister to the Earl of Lytton, and one of the leaders in the English suffrage movement, is one of the prominent women who appealed to President Wilson before his departure for America, urging that he secure suffrage for American women on his arrival here. Lady Lytton has, herself, served prison sentences for demanding the vote for the women of her own nation, and her brother was one of the members of the House of Lords most instrumental in securing the passage of the English suffrage measure through that House.

Lady Lytton's letter is as follows:

"President Wilson,

"Sir:

"I would ask you, now that you are here in our land, if you would graciously further the woman's vote in your country by every means in your power.

"On October 1 you gave an address to the Senate on the subject which was true and just.

"You are reported to have said on Friday, December 27, at Buckingham Palace: 'America does love freedom, and I believe that she loves freedom unselfishly. But if she does not, she will not, and cannot, have the influence to which she justly aspires.'

"You have given a splendid message to the last session of Congress. The women of the world look towards you to make American women the equals of men in political rights before the session ends, when the women of the world will be grateful to you.

"Your obedient servant,"

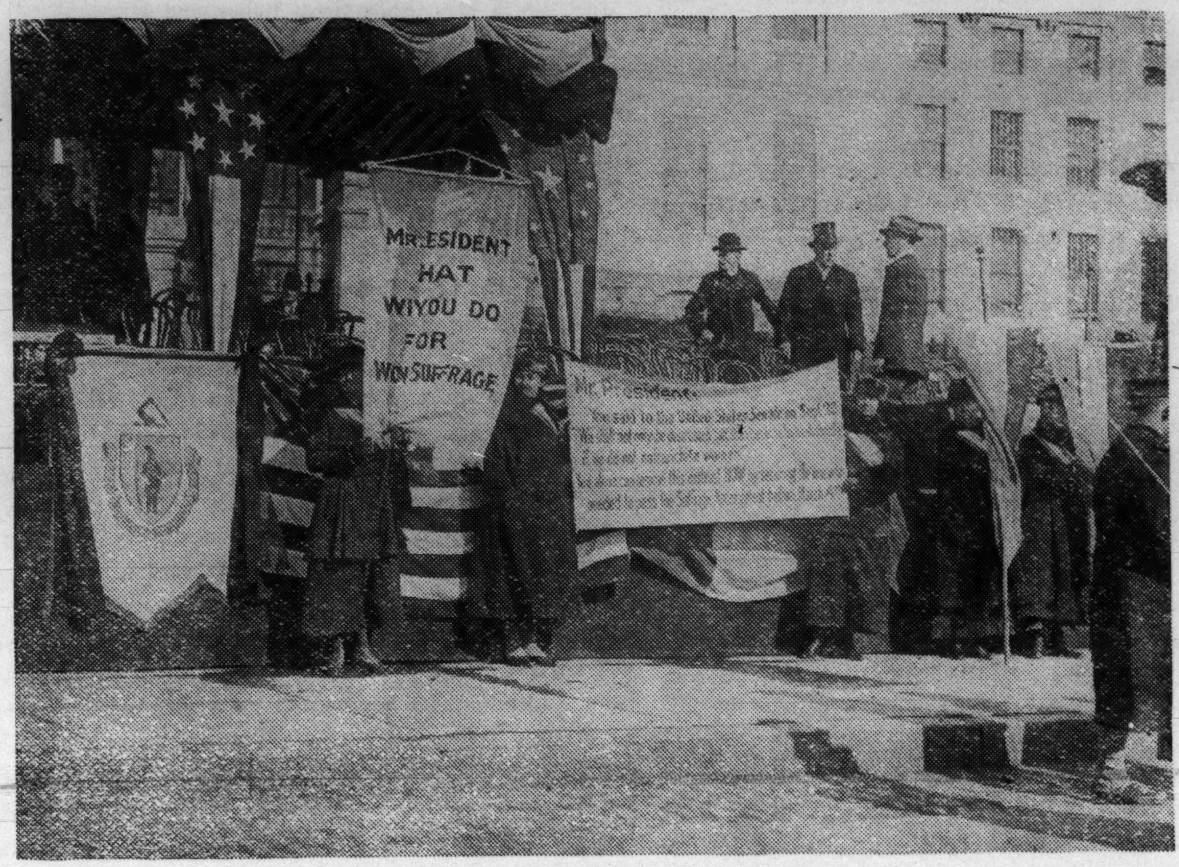
(Signed) "Constance Lytton."

Lady Lytton received merely an acknowledgment of the receipt of her letter from Gilbert F. Close, the President's secretary, stating that the President "wishes me to say that demands of this nature are so numerous, and his time is so completely occupied that it is impossible for him to gratify your request."

Reminding the President When He Landed in Boston

HISTORIC Boston! Boston, the "cradle of liberty"—"where men draw in freedom with the very air they breathe," etc., etc. A fitting place, surely, for the emissary of freedom abroad to land on his return to this country from his patriotic mission. A fitting place, too, in which to remind him that he is returning to a nation in fact and deed but one-half free. Yet who is there to point out the fitness in the rest of the story—in the story that there in Boston, before the State House, and on old Boston Common, twenty-five American women were arrested for unfurling the banners of woman's freedom—arrested for asking for liberty?

This is not Czarist Russia of three years ago, of which we read. It is Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, in the United States of America. Nor is it the Boston of harsh witchcraft days. It is Boston in this year of enlightenment and of triumphant democracy—in this victory year of Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen.



Suffragists Before the Reviewing Stand in Boston

ON Monday morning, February 24, all Boston turned out to see President Wilson on his return from European council tables. True to their promise to take part in this big demonstration, a large group of Massachusetts suffragists, members of the National Woman's Party, was of the crowd. Boston papers had several days previously carried large headlines and a front page story about the President's welcome—a large proportion of which space had been devoted to the announced plans of the women for this occasion, and to the counter plans of the police to establish a dead line beyond which no suffragists should be allowed to penetrate to worry the President with their foolish pleas for liberty. The political descendants of old Boston's magistrates and "sires of freedom" were going to see to it that the day should not be marred by any such untoward event as a demand for justice and democracy under the very nose of the world's champion of democracy, and on the sacred soil of old Boston Common, where fighting Colonists rebelled against King George!

But the women were there. Marching through the lines of marines which held the crowds back from the reviewing stand where the President was to appear, they took their station and unfurled their banners. For nearly an hour the line of brave, bright color stood there, and they were seen, and the deep significance of the fact that they should have to be there at all could not be escaped by the most casual passerby.

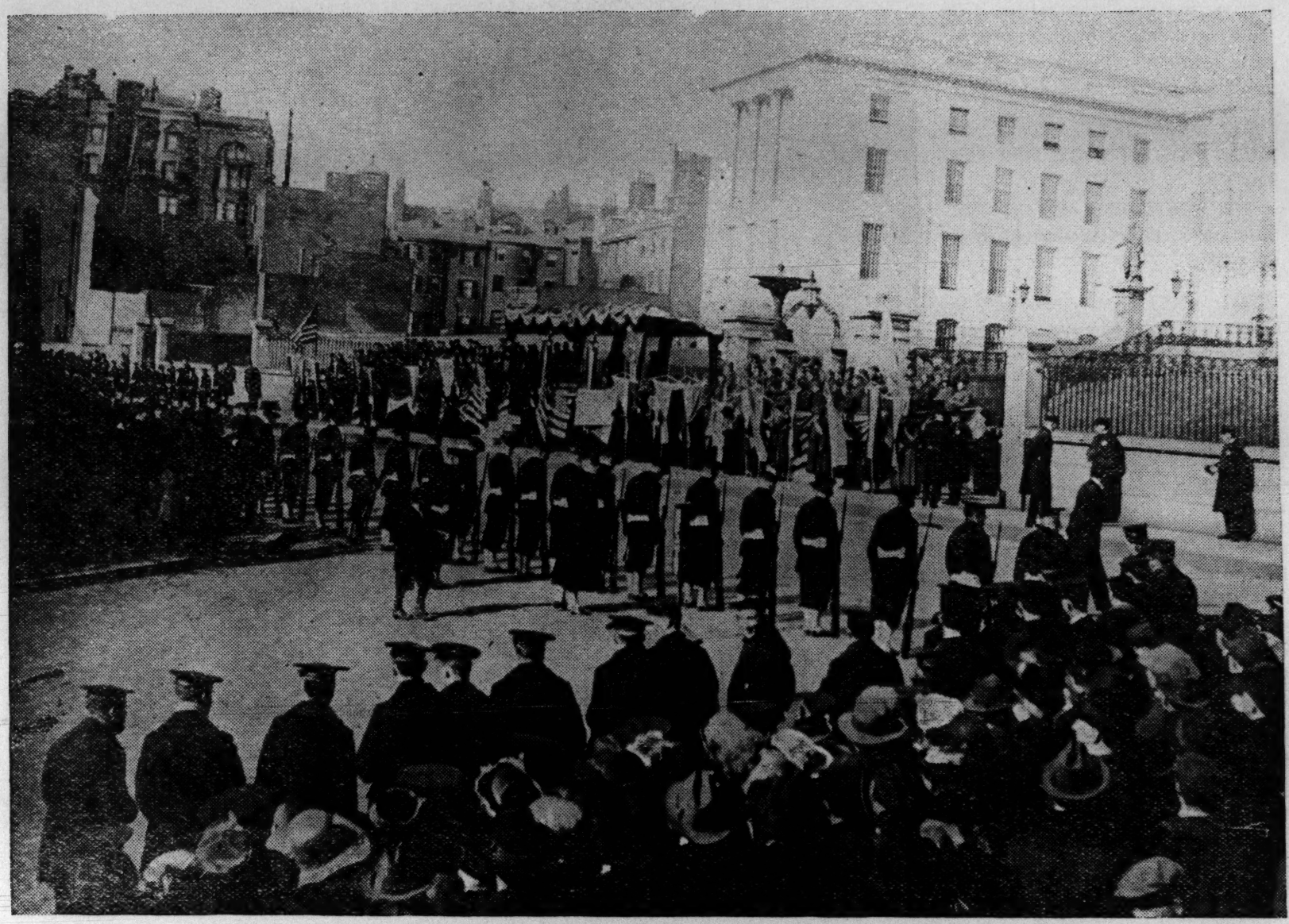
Nineteenthere—then they were all whirled away in patrols to the house of detention. But they were

The lettered banner which addressed the President on this his homecoming from affairs of foreign democracy was composed by Mrs. Samuel Warren and was carried by Mrs. Lois Warren Shaw, of Manchester, N. H., formerly of Massachusetts, and Miss Ruth Small, of Boston, organizer of the Massachusetts Branch of the National Woman's Party. The banner read:

"MR. PRESIDENT, YOU SAID IN THE SENATE ON SEPTEMBER 30, 'WE SHALL NOT ONLY BE DISTRUSTED BUT WE SHALL DESERVE TO BE DISTRUSTED IF WE DO NOT ENFRANCHISE WOMEN.' YOU ALONE CAN REMOVE THIS DISTRUST NOW BY SECURING THE ONE VOTE NEEDED TO PASS THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT BEFORE MARCH 4."

The American flag held the place of honor at the head of the line, borne by Miss Katherine Morey, of Boston. On either

Mrs. Louis Sykes Burning the President's Speech on Boston Common and Miss Elsie Hill One of the Speakers at the Meeting



Suffragists Waiting Before Reviewing Stand for President's Arrival

Police Taking Names of Suffragists As They Arrest Them

side of the stars and stripes were those two lettered banners now become hitsoric in the drama of women's struggle for freedom.

"MR. PRESIDENT, HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY?"

"MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE?"

These were backed up staunchly by more and more banners of purple, white and gold.

Among the women arrested for taking part in this demonstration were many of the most prominent and best known of Boston. Mrs. Jessica Henderson, Miss Ruth Small, Miss Lou Daniels, Mrs. Frank Page, Miss Josephine Collins, Miss Berry Pottier, Miss Wilma Henderson, Mrs. Irving Gross, were all of Boston; others were Mrs. George Roewer, of Belmont, Massachusetts; Miss Frances Fowler, of Brookline; Miss Camilla Whitcomb, of Worcester; Mrs. H. L. Turner, of Allston; Miss Eleanor Calnan, of Methuen; Miss Betty Connelly, of Newton; Miss Betty Gram, of Portland, Ore.; Mrs. Lois Warren Shaw, of Manchester, N. H.; Miss Rose Lewis, of New York; and Mrs. H. D. Russian, of Detroit.

All of the women arrested were held for some time at the police station and then sent to the House of Detention to await trial the next morning. They were charged with "loitering more than seven minutes."

IN the afternoon, undismayed by the result of the morning's demonstration, another demonstration was held, this one taking the form of a watchfire—such as has made famous the strip of sidewalk before the White House in Washington—on Boston Common. While the President was speaking in Mechanics Hall across the square, in this watchfire, before vast crowds which far surpassed any crowd previously gathered to witness a suffrage demonstration, the words of the President on democracy and liberty were burned almost as they were spoken. Mrs. Louise Sykes, of Cambridge, Mass., whose late husband was president of the Connecticut College for Women, presided over the burning. Miss Elsie Hill, of Norwalk, Connecticut, daughter of the late Congressman Hill of that state, Mrs. C. C. Jack, wife of a Harvard Professor, and Mrs. Mortimer Warren, of Boston, whose husband is the head of one of the Base Hospitals in France, were arrested for speaking and were taken off to the house of detention to join their comrades of the morning. Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse, of Portland, Maine, State Chairman of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Massachusetts State Chairman, each made speeches to the assembled throngs, and were not disturbed by the police. Mrs. Mortimer Warren and Mrs. Jack, after being held by the police for some time, were released. Miss Hill, however, was detained on the charge of speaking without a permit.

In the Hall the President spoke to a great audience about America's part in the fight for Right and Liberty and Democracy, and on the Common, women spoke to another vast audience about the way in which these words were not being carried out in deeds.

The big, the amazing thing about the protest demonstration on Boston Common was the very fact of its bigness, of its immensity. There were the thousands left on the streets and on the Common from the parade, and the thousands who streamed out of Mechanics Hall across the square, and they gathered there about the suffragists and their torches as a center, seething to and fro in vast masses striving to reach a point where they could hear the women speaking and catch a glimpse of the ceremonies of the burning of the President's words.

Suffragists Taken from the Reveiwing Stands to the Patrol Wagons

From three o'clock in the afternoon until six in the evening the women held the center of the vast scene. Not for a long, long time had old Boston witnessed such a spectacle. The population seemed to realize that they were seeing history in the making, that theirs was

Mrs. Agnes Morey, Mass. State Chairman, Welcoming Miss Alice Paul, National Chairman, Upon Her Arrival in Boston to Aid with the Demonstration

the opportunity to behold what in after years will be regarded as a remarkable thing—the sight of women forced to a public demonstration to ask for liberty—and they made the most of their opportunity to behold this thing. They stayed, and watched, and listened. And for those three hours of the afternoon the women spoke without interruption to their immense audience; then at six came the order for arrest. Why the long interval, unmolested? Who knows? And the charge? "Speaking on Boston Common without a permit!" A permit had previously been applied for, but had been neither granted nor refused, so the suffragists availed themselves of the ancient American privilege of free speech, of the free right of protest against injustice, and—spoke. Spoke for three hours before their speech became an offence and themselves liable to arrest.

Arrested for speaking for freedom on Boston Common! Shades of the worthy gentlemen of the Teaparty!—And arrested for "loitering more than seven minutes on the public highway."

Said Mrs. Agnes Morey, in charge of the demonstration:

"It is a most extraordinary thing. Thousands loitered from curiosity on the day the President arrived. Twenty-two loitered for liberty, and only those who loitered for liberty were arrested!"

On that day, February 25, the women were sentenced to ten days in jail, and are now serving that sentence. An account of the trial will appear in next week's Suffragist.

Sex Aristocracy

By Reverend Olympia Brown

DEFEATED again! Another illustration of the extreme difficulties of overcoming an aristocracy of sex! Such an aristocracy is unnatural—it places men and women in a position of antagonism to each other. It introduces caste into the family. Elsewhere where caste prevails it is based on some form of superiority, usually high birth. A brave man by noble deeds can win for himself a position and begin a line of noble men and women, as when an obscure man is knighted for heroic behavior.

Nowhere but here is caste based upon sex alone—Here all men are rulers—all women are subjects. Elsewhere women belonging to noble families receive recognition, often are given the ballot; but here no matter what brave deeds a woman might do, what character attained or what victory in art, letters, or science achieve, she is still a subject and nothing more. In seeking emancipation we have not merely to overcome the prejudice against sex, but also to break down an established caste to overcome the inherent feeling of deference to established authority.

A man recently arrested for beating his wife argued in court, that as her political superior she was his subject and he could deal with her as he pleased. The Judge tried to show him that such was not the case, but the man had the best of the argument. He belonged to the ruling class. He had the authority, respect and recognition which his position as one of the ruling class bestowed.

The beggar who comes to my door in rags ignorant, dirty and drunken, asking for a pair of old shoes, is my political superior. In Wisconsin, he may be a foreigner, who has never become a citizen, a man, until recently, an enemy alien, but by virtue of his sex without any other qualification whatever, he is a ruler, superior in political power to the most distinguished, most cultured, most patriotic women in the land.

ALL history is full of the struggle of the lower classes for equality and men and women in different countries have stood together and have again and again demanded their rights and won them at the point of the sword. But here, women are the lower classes, no matter how cultivated or public spirited, and their superiors and rulers are the men about them; and all we can do is to use the peaceful weapons of reasons and argument appealing to the moral sense of our superiors, or as now, to their political interests.

The aristocracy of sex is the most difficult to overcome, the most unreasonable—it is the meanest aristocracy on the face of the earth. Other aristocracies have some reason for being, something to recommend them. The King rules by divine right. The Princess and the Nobles are educated people, taught in the science of government. Even an aristocracy of wealth has something to recommend it since it represents industry and economy; but an aristocracy founded solely on pantaloons has nothing to recommend it. There is no Divine right in pantaloons!

Our President has rung the changes on the word Democracy. It is a grand word. A Democratic government would indeed be a glorious thing—a government in which all the people could be represented would be just and it would be successful because it would be just; but a male oligarchy is not a democracy—it is one sided—it is unfair—it is immoral—it lays the emphasis on the wrong spot—it gives power to the instruments of vice, the liquor saloon and the brothel, while it disfranchises the church, the school and the home. Some one in speaking of the evil of too much liberty asked for a remedy—the answer was more liberty. And so in regard to Democracy we want more democracy—we have not yet tried the government of the people. The world has yet to see a government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

It must be ours to prepare the way for such a government

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Comments of the Press

A Lost Opportunity

THE Democrats have lost a great opportunity. How any Democratic Senator could be a party to defeating suffrage is hard to understand. Every Democrat who voted against the amendment played directly into the hands of the Republicans.

It is almost safe to say that one of the first things the new Congress will do will be to introduce and pass a new resolution for submitting the amendment to the states for ratification. This will give the Republicans a decided advantage at the next presidential election in those states where women now vote.

The Republicans voting against the amendment yesterday will have as an excuse, even if they do not say so, that it was their wish that the Democrats fail to pass it, leaving the honor to the coming Republican Congress.

There will be no excuse for the Democrats, and if for refusing to support the amendment they bring down upon their heads the wrath of the women of the country they can blame only themselves.

Mr. Pollock scored this time. Had his vote last week on the undemocratic and altogether obnoxious espionage law been as wisely directed, he would have won favor then as he does now in voting on the side of justice and democracy. How any man could vote to deprive his fellow countrymen of the constitutional right of free speech and free press is beyond the understanding of men raised in American schools. Yet this is what Democratic Senators did and with the assistance of some Republicans who are laughing up their sleeves, they endorsed this position only the other day, and for the time being fastened their act of tyranny on the people.

The Republicans want nothing better than to have the Democrats leave both suffrage and the espionage law for them to dispose of. They will pass the one and kill the other in a way that will place the Democrats in a most embarrassing light before the people of the United States.

Viewing the unfortunate stand of the Democrats who voted against the suffrage amendment from a point of interest in the success of the Democratic Party, it has all the earmarks of a political blunder. To have passed the amendment would have been a progressive step and would have been good for the nation. To defeat it means only a slight delay and the loss of an excellent chance to demonstrate that the Democratic Party is the party of the people and the party of equal rights to all.

The wheels of progress under the present administration are turning backwards. However, there is going to be a change, and if it is not for the better, there will be another change, and still another, until the American people get back their government in their own hands. —Charleston American, February 11, 1918.

Heated Argument

THE suffragettes who burned the President in effigy may be said to have reached the stage of heated argument.—N. Y. C. Eevening Sun, February 11, 1919.

More Minority Rule

TWENTY-NINE members of the United States Senate yesterday stood between the women of this country and the right to vote. That is the best analysis of the vote taken yesterday which marks the end of the present attempt to secure passage of the Anthony amendment.

Twenty-nine members constitute less than a third of the membership of the Senate. This group, of less than a third of the membership, was able to hold back this reform and to thwart the will of but one less than twice their number and of an actual majority of the whole membership of the Senate, including absentees as well as those present.

This is minority rule with a vengeance and it is not to the credit of any Senator to be included in such a group. Two from Connecticut were in it. Its composition is interesting. Of the 29, 18 are Democrats, and at least 14 of those Democrats from the Southern states where the spectre of negro women voting sends cold shivers up and down the spines of white statesmen. The names of the remaining 11 read like a roll call of the Republican Old Guard who used to make highbinder tariffs famous.—Baird, Borah, Brandegee, Dillingham, Hale, Lodge, McLean, Moses, Penrose, Wadsworth, Weeks—11. Total, 29.

Not one of this group stands for progress, save Borah—he's a suffragist but opposed to the federal amendment. Of the other ten, seven are from New England, the citadel of conservatism, and the others are Penrose of Pennsylvania, Baird of Delaware, and Wadsworth of New York.

The futility of it all lies in the fact that there will be 65 votes for the amendment in the next Senate, enough to pass it. What the Democrats of the Senate have done is to block suffrage just long enough to permit the Republican Party to take credit for giving the women the vote, since Republicans will control the next Congress in both branches.

The question of statesmanship aside, it isn't even good politics.—Hartford Post, February 11, 1919.

Suffrage for Politics

WITH all respect to the poetical expressions of Mrs. Catt that the nation is "dishonored," and so on, by the temporary failure of the Senate to recommend the suffrage amendment to the legislatures, the woman minority has won. Its triumph is but postponed. The high considerations of right that interject themselves every time into these sacred considerations of politics need not longer concern us. The thing is put practically, to a practical generation. The Democrats have blundered politically. The farther-seeing Republicans in the next Congress will take advantage of that mistake. To all the mysterious unknown world of "women," they will open, by the submission of the federal amendment, that opportunity of politics that some women wish.

The essentiality of the whole "movement," the gradual conquering by a small minority of the public, the degradation of an agitation, fifty years ago altruistic and genuine, couldn't be expressed better. Nobody cares whether it is to the advantage of the national polity to have woman suffrage or not. The point is: Who saw it first, Democrats or Republicans?

Millions of women on whom this privilege—for it is no "right"—has been foisted have yet to utter their opinion upon a change in their relations to the state as to which they have not been consulted.

The Jelly-backed politicians will amuse themselves, according to their wont, with this great change in the fundamental law. Is it right? Is it wrong? Is it desirable? Foolish questions. Should each state determine for itself the political status of its women? Idiot inquiries. Was the Democratic or the Republican Party most congenial to the great "reform?" How many votes are there in it?

This is all, this is all that anything, apparently, amounts to. Even in the Southern states, which, before the passage of the Prohibition amendment, might have been regarded by the unwary as the last stand of state rights, there was no united opposition. Their votes were divided. Their utmost opposition was but a trifle. They are not sincere or earnest about it. It is a matter of political finesse. The future of states and of a nation that regard these deep-lying problems as pawns of politics may well call for some thought.—New York Times, February 12, 1919.

Postponing the Inevitable

SUFFRAGISTS should not be too much irritated at the Senate. That body is simply unable to resist the temptation to postpone the inevitable.—New York Evening Post.—Philadelphia Record, February 14, 1919.

Treasurer's Report

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Total collected by National Headquarters through Feb. 22, 1919	405,744.73
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Grand Total	480,772.38
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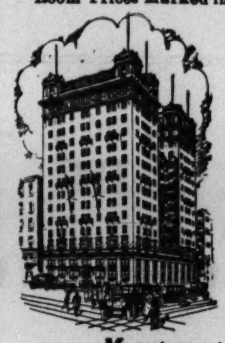

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